

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 HONG K 08458 221018Z

12

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15

EUR-25 NIC-01 SAJ-01 RSR-01 /111 W

----- 019229

R 220841Z AUG 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO USLO PEKING

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 7983

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8458

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: PARTY CONGRESS REPORTING

REF: PEKING 0827

SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE RESPONDS TO USLO REPORTING PROPOSALS AND
OTHER COMMENTS ON THE PRC PARTY CONGRESS NOW IN PREPARATION.
END SUMMARY.

1. USLO'S PROPOSED DIVISION OF LABOR SUITS US FINE. OUR THOUGHTS
ON COMMENTS IN REFTEL FOLLOW.

2. EXPECTATIONS: A CALL TO PREPARE FOR CONGRESSES DEFINITELY
HAS BEEN ISSUED, PROBABLY AT THE MEETING IN MAY. WE CONCUR THAT
THIS IS STILL VERY MUCH ON. USLO IS IN BEST POSITION TO ASSESS
RECENT ACTIVITY AT THE GREAT HALL AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO A CONGRESS.
WE CAN CONTRIBUTE INFORMATION THAT CHEKIANG RADIO REPORTED FIRST
SECRETARY TAN CHI-LUNG AT HOME AUGUST 17, AND LIAONING RADIO DID
THE SAME FOR POLITBURO MEMBER CHEN HSI-LIEN AUGUST 19. A NUMBER
OF PROVINCIAL LEADERS, ONE OR MORE AT A TIME, HAVE BEEN REPORTED
IN THEIR CAPITALS SINCE AUGUST 1.

3. FROM CONGEN PERSPECTIVE, CONGRESS PREPARATIONS DO NOT
PRESENTLY SEEM PROTRACTED. A PARTY CONGRESS NOW, ASSUMING THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HONG K 08458 221018Z

CALL FOR IT CAME IN MAY WOULD SEEM PROMPT IF NOT SUDDEN AND HASTY

WHEN COMPARED WITH THE SIX-MONTH PUBLIC LEAD UP TO THE NINTH CONGRESS (THE RESULTS OF WHICH CAME UMGLUED IN 16 MONTHS), AND THE PUBLIC MOOTING OF THE FOURTH NPC, WHICH DATES AUTHORITATIVELY FROM SEPTEMBER 1970. MOREOVER, THE CALL THUS FAR FOR THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS IS INFORMAL. IF THE USUAL COMMUNIQUE FROM A PLENUM OF THE OUTGOING CONGRESS, CALLING FOR A NEW CONGRESS, WERE TO BE OMITTED, THE REASONS FOR THIS WOULD WANT INVESTIGATION. THE EIGHT CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RAVAGED AS IT WAS BY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, STILL MANAGED TO OBSERVE FORM AND DISSOLVE ITSELF. AS AN ADDED THOUGHT, CONGRESSES WHEN THEY OCCUR ARE NOT CUSTOMARILY SECRET EVENTS BUT ARE ACKNOWLEDGED AND ACCLAIMED.

4. WE DO NOT RULE OUT HASTE AND DISREGARD FOR FORM IN A PUSH FOR THE PRESENT CONGRESS. THE CAUSES THAT FIRST COME TO MIND ARE MAO-CHOU HEALTH FACTORS, ALTHOUGH BOTH MEN HAVE BEEN ACTIVE SINCE THE PRESUMED MAY CAL FOR A CONGRESS. ALTERNATIVELY, IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT MAO IS UP TO ONE OF HIS TACTICAL MOVES, TO FLUSH OUT AND PINION AN OPPOSITION ELEMENT, OR TO FORCE THE PACE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. HOWEVER, IF THE CALL IS MEANT TO INDUCE A CONGRESS IMMEDIATELY, IT WOULD SEEM TO SUPERCEDE RATHER THAN CAP THE INITIALLY DECLARED POLITICAL TASK FOR THE YEAR, THE REBUILDING OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS, AND ALSO TO COME IN ADVANCE OF SUCH PRESUMABLY DESIRABLE BRUSH-CLEARING AS THE FULL SORTING OUT OF PROVINCIAL LEADERS AND FURTHER CADRE REHABILITATION. NONE OF THESE THOUGHTS RULES OUT A SUDDEN CONGRESS, BUT THEY WOULD CAST IT IN THE LIGHT OF A POWER PLAY.

5. WE CONCUR IN BUT WOULD PREFER TO CONSTRUE MORE NARROWLY THE VIEW THAT THE ROLES ARE REVERSED OVER 1969 AND THAT THE MODERATES ARE RUNNING THE SHOW. WE WOULD LIKE TO QUALIFY THIS TO MEAN THAT THE MODERATES HAVE BEEN TAKING THE POLICY INITIATIVES AND UNTIL RECENTLY WITH REMARKABLE SUCCESS, CONSIDERING THAT THEY HAVE HAD TO STEP ON TOES RIGHT AND LEFT. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE MODERATES RUN THE SHOW IN ALL RESPECTS WOULD, OF COURSE, BE PUT TO THE TEST BY A CONGRESS. WE WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE ROOM IN OUR ASSESSMENT FOR A DEGREE OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE MILITARY, PARTICULARLY REGIONAL COMMANDERS CHEN HSI-LIEN AND HSU SHIH-YU, WHOM WE THINK ARE POTENTIAL KING-MAKERS. WE CANNOT RULE OUT, AND WE WOULD RAISE THE POSSIBILITY, THAT THEY MAY HAVE INTERESTS, ALTHOUGH QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE RADICALS, WHICH COULD FIND A LIMITED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HONG K 08458 221018Z

COMON CAUSE WITH RADICALS IN SEEKING TO COMPROMISE A MODERATE CONGRESS PLATFORM. THE MILITARY, FOR EXAMPLE, MAY WELL WISH GUARANTEES FOR THEIR CONTINUED POLITICAL ROLE.

6. WE CONCUR THAT CHOU PROBABLY HAS THE POWER TO POSTPONE A CONGRESS. BUT PRESUMABLY MAO ISSUED THE CALL FOR A CONGRESS WITH CHOU'S CONCURRENCE. THE QUESTION AS IT OCCURS TO US IS NOT WHETHER THEY CAN STOP WHAT THEY STARTED BUT WHETHER THEY CAN HAVE

THE CONGRESS GO THEIR WAY.

7. CONTROVERSY: THIS PROBABLY IMPACTS MORE ON CONGEN THAN USLO BECAUSE IT IS APPEARING IN MEDIA MORE READILY AVAILABLE TO US. ALMOST DAILY LIAONING RADIO DIATRIBES AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY EXAM, STILL CONTINUING A MONTH AFTER THE ISSUE WAS RAISED AND THREE WEEKS AFTER RED FLAG OFFICIALLY CONCEDED THE POINT, RECAPTURE FOR US A LITTLE OF THE FLAVOR OF TA TZE PAO IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. IT IS BECOMING PATENT THAT CHEN IS DELIBERATELY WORRYING THIS ISSUE, A CONCLUSION THAT IS HIGHLIGHTED BY THE SMALL NUMBER OF OTHER PROVINCES THUS FAR TO TAKE UP THE SUBJECT WITH ANY REAL VIGOR.

8. THE LIKELY RESULTS OF A CONGRESS, AS PROJECTED BY USLO, CONFORM WITH OUR VIEW OF WHAT WOULD BE THE CHOUIST PLATFORM, AND PROVIDE A REASONABLE BENCHMARK FOR MEASURING THE RESULTS OF A CONGRESS WHEN IT OCCURS. THESE ARE THEMSELVES ITEMS TO WATCH AND ASK ABOUT. WE MIGHT ALSO LOOK FOR LEADERSHIP TURNOUTS TO PARADE THE TOP SEED FOR THE POLITBURO, AND ANY GATHERING IN WHICH TOP FIGURES APPEAR TO GROUP THEMSELVES COULD BE AN INTERESTING OBSERVATION. MAO'S WHEREABOUTS ARE ALWAYS OF INTEREST. ROSS TERRILL LOCATES HIM AT PEITAIHE ON AUGUST 3. IF USLO CONSIDERS THE QUESTION DISCREET, CHINESE CONTACTS MIGHT BE ASKED ABOUT THE PROCEDURAL DRILL FOR A CONGRESS, HOW THEY ARE CALLED AND THE GENERAL MECHANICS INVOLVED. IT WOULD BE VALUABLE TO US TO HAVE OUR THOUGHTS IN PARA THREE TESTED.
OSBORN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HONGK08458
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS OSBORN
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730823/aaaaaqpw.tel
Line Count: 142
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: PEKING 0827
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23-Jul-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <19 FEB 2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PARTY CONGRESS REPORTING
TAGS: PINT, CH
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005